

## PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 8.—Interest in both houses of Congress centered today in the President's message. Senator Aldrich, on behalf of the Senate committee, and Representative Payne, for the House committee, appointed to notify the President that the two bodies were in session.

The reading of the message began in the Senate at 12:15 and in the House a few minutes later. The galleries of both houses were well filled, and almost all of the seats of Senators and members were occupied by their owners. All of them were supplied with printed copies of the message, which proved to be a document of forty-four printed pages, with an elaborate appendix containing numerous illustrations showing the results of the work of the forestry bureau. Senators and members gave comparatively little attention to the reading of the message at the desk, but most of them immediately busied themselves with the printed copies before them.

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 8.—President Roosevelt's message to Congress was submitted today. It is, in part, as follows:

The financial standing of the nation at the present time is excellent, and the financial management of the government during the last seven years has shown the most satisfactory results. But our currency system is imperfect, and it is earnestly to be hoped that the Currency Commission will be able to propose a thoroughly good system which will do away with the existing defects.

**Finances.** During the period from July 1, 1901, to September 30, 1908, there was an increase in the amount of money in circulation of \$262,951,359. The increase in the per capita during the period was \$7.06. Within this time there were several occasions when it was necessary for the Treasury Department to come to the relief of the money market by purchases or redemptions of United States bonds; by increasing deposits in national banks; by stimulating additional issues of national bank notes; and by facilitating importations from abroad of gold. Our imperfect currency system has made these proceedings necessary, and they were effective until the monetary disturbance in the summer of 1907, which increased the difficulty of ordinary methods of relief.

During the seven years and three months there has been a net surplus of nearly \$100,000,000 of receipts over expenditures, a reduction of the interest-bearing debt by \$20,000,000, in spite of the extraordinary expense of the Panama Canal, and a saving of nearly \$3,000,000 on the annual interest charge.

**Corporations.** As regards the great corporations

engaged in interstate business, and especially the railroads, I can only repeat what I have already said again and again in my messages to the Congress. I believe that under the Interstate clause of the Constitution the United States has complete and paramount right to control all agencies of interstate commerce, and I believe that the national government alone can exercise this right with wisdom and effectiveness so as both to secure justice from, and to do justice to, the great corporations which are the most important factors in modern business. I believe that it is worse than folly to attempt to prohibit all combinations as is done by the Sherman anti-trust law, because such a law can be enforced only imperfectly and unequally, and its enforcement works almost as much hardship as good. I strongly advocate that instead of an unwise effort to prohibit all combinations, there shall be substituted a law which shall exclude all combinations which are in the interest of the public, but shall at the same time give to some agency complete power to put a stop to control and supervision over them. One of the chief features of this control should be securing adequate publicity in all matters which the public has a right to know, and, furthermore, the power, not by judicial but by executive action, to prevent or put a stop to every form of improper favoritism or other wrongdoing.

The railroads of the country should be put completely under the Interstate Commerce Commission, and removed from the doing of the anti-trust law. The power of the commission should be made thoroughgoing, so that it could exercise complete supervision and control over the issue of securities as well as the raising and lowering of rates. As regards rates, at least, this power should be summary. The power to investigate the financial operations and accounts of the railroads has been one of the most valuable features in recent legislation. Power to make combinations complete and effective should be explicitly conferred upon the railroads, the permission of the commission being first gained and published in all its details. In the interest of the public the representatives of the public should be given the duty by the public, and as a matter of course this power should also be exercised so as to see that no injustice is done to the railroads. The shareholders, the employees and the shippers all have interests that must be guarded. It is to the interest of the public that no swindling stock speculation should be allowed, and that there should be no improper issuance of securities.

Telegraph and telephone companies engaged in interstate business should be put under the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission. It is very earnestly to be wished that our people, through their representatives, should act in this matter. It is hard to say whether most damage to the country at large would come from entire failure on the part of the public to supervise and control the actions of the great corporations, or from the exercise of the necessary governmental power in a way which would do in-

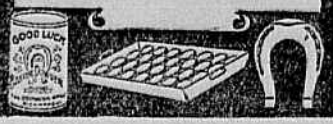
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Justice and wrong to the corporations. The opposition to government control of these great corporations makes its most effective effort in the shape of an appeal to the old doctrine of States' rights. Of course there are many sincere men who now believe in this doctrine, and who are, just as there were formerly many sincere men who believed in slavery—that is, in the unrestricted right of an individual to regulate his business. These men do not by themselves have great weight, however. The effective fight against government control and supervision of individual, and especially of corporate, wealth, engaged in interstate business is, chiefly done through the efforts of a group of an appeal to States' rights.

To abandon the effort for national control means to abandon the effort for all adequate control and yet to render likely continual bursts of action by State Legislatures, which cannot achieve the purpose of regulation which can do great deal of damage to the corporation without conferring any real benefit on the public.

I believe that the extreme frightened corporations are themselves coming to recognize the unwisdom of the violent hostility they have displayed during the last year. They are coming to control by the national government of combinations engaged in interstate business. The truth is that we believe in the movement of asserting and exercising a genuine control, in the public interest, over these great corporations. We are not, as is often said, two sets of enemies, who, though nominally opposed to one another, are really allies in preventing a proper solution of the problem. The extreme frightened big corporation men and the extreme individualists among business men, who genuinely believe in utterly unregulated business, are the two enemies of the public; and, second, the men who, being blind to the economic movements of the day, believe in a movement of restriction rather than regulation of corporations, and who denounce both the power of the railroads and the exercise of the Federal power which alone can control the railroads.

We do not for a moment believe that the problem will be solved by any short-cut method, or that the country will come only by pressing various current remedies. Some of these remedies must lie outside the domain of all government. Some must lie outside the domain of the Federal government. But there is legislation which the Federal government alone can enact and which is absolutely vital in order to secure the attainment of our purpose.

**Labor.** As far as possible, I hope to see a frank recognition of the advantages conferred by machinery, organization and division of labor, accompanied by an effort to bring about the largest measure in the ownership by wageworker of railway, mill and factory.

Postal savings banks will make it easy for the poorest to keep their savings in absolute safety. The regulation of the national highways must be such that they shall serve all people with equal justice. Corporate financial affairs should be supervised so as to make it far safer than at present for the man of small means to invest his money in stocks and bonds. The prohibition of child labor, diminution of woman labor, shortening of hours of all mechanical labor, stock watering, and the like, should be discouraged. There should be a progressive inheritance tax on large fortunes. Inducement should be encouraged. As far as possible we should lighten the burden of taxation on the small man.

**Protective Wageworkers.** There is one matter with which the Congress should deal with at this session. There should no longer be any patting on the head of the laboring man, but the wageworkers who, under our present industrial system, become killed, crippled or worn out as a result of regular incidents of a given business. The majority of wageworkers have not their rights secured for them by any action, but the government should legislate in thoroughgoing and far-reaching fashion not only for the employees of the national government, but for all persons engaged in interstate commerce.

Our present system, or rather no system, of workmen's compensation is of benefit to only one class of people—the lawyers. When a workman is injured what he needs is not an expensive and doubtful lawsuit, but a certainty of relief through immediate administrative action.

The Congress should without further delay pass a law making the liability law for the District of Columbia.

I renew my recommendation made in previous messages that relief should be granted during summer to all wageworkers in government employ.

I also renew my recommendation that the principle of the eight-hour day should as rapidly and as far as practicable be extended to the entire work being carried on by the government; the present law should be amended to embrace contracts on those public works which the present wording of the act seems to exclude.

**The Courts.** I most earnestly urge upon the Congress the duty of increasing the totally inadequate salaries now given to our judges.

It is earnestly to be desired that some method should be devised for doing away with the long delays which now obtain in the administration of justice, and that the law should be applied severely against persons of small means, and favor only the very criminals whom it is most desirable to punish. These long delays in the final decisions of cases make in the aggregate a crying evil; and a remedy should be devised.

At the last election certain leaders of organized labor made a violent and sweeping attack upon the entire judiciary of the country, an attack couched in such terms as to include the most upright, honest and broad-minded judges, and to suggest a narrower mind and more restricted outlook. It was the kind of attack which should be prevented by any constitutional attempt to reform abuses of the judiciary, because it gave the champions of the unjust judge their case on the merits, and not on the grounds of their ground into a championship of just judges who were unjustly assailed.

Last year, however, the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, these same leaders formulated their demands, specifying the bill that contained the reforms which they wished, and stating they wished the principle of that bill or nothing. They insisted on a

provision that in a labor dispute no injunction should be issued except to protect a property right, and specifically provided that to carry on business should not be construed as a property right, and in a second provision their bill made legal for the first time the right of a labor union to picket, set or more persons that would not have been lawful if done by any other means. In other words, this bill legalized blacklisting and boycotting in every form, legalizing, for instance, these forms of strike action, which the Commission so unreservedly condemned; while the right to carry on business was explicitly taken out from under that protection which the law throws over property. The desecration of the law, therefore, should be most seriously impairing the authority of the courts. All this represented a course of policy which, if carried out, would mean the enthronement of class privilege in its crudest and most brutal form, and the destruction of one of the most essential functions of the judiciary in all civilized lands.

The wage-workers, the workmen, the laboring man, who are, by the way, in which they repudiated the effort to get them to cast their votes in the coming election, have, by the way, have emphasized their sound patriotism and Americanism.

At the extreme reactionaries, the persons who blind themselves to the wrongs now and then committed by the courts on laboring men, should also understand that with such a movement as this portends. The judges who have shown themselves as willing effectively to check the dishonest activity of the very rich man who works inquiry by the mismanagement of corporations, who have shown themselves to be just to the wage-worker, and sympathetic with the needs of the mass of our people, so that the dweller in the tenement houses, the man who practices dangerous trade, the man who is crushed by excessive hours of labor, feel that their own rights are being protected—these judges are the real bulwark of the courts.

Courts are jeopardized primarily by the action of these Federal and State judges who show inability or unwillingness to put a stop to the wrong-doing of the very rich man, who, in industrial conditions and inability or unwillingness to give relief to men of small means or wage-workers who are crushed by excessive hours of labor, fail to understand and apply the law. Remedies are now and high, wrongs produced by the now and high, complex social and industrial civilization which has grown up in the last century.

It is desirable that the legislative body should possess, and wherever necessary exercise, the power to regulate the relations between employers and employees are not on an equal footing, so that the necessities of the laboring man to submit to such exacting and onerous conditions of labor as unduly to tax their strength; and only mischief can result from the action of the legislature on the ground that there must be no "interference with the liberty to contract"—often a merely academic question, in which the liberty is the negation of real liberty.

There is also, I think ground for the belief that substantial justice is often secured by the employment of temporary injunctions without notice to the men, and pushing them forward in haste, in order to secure a matter of fact, they have no knowledge of any proceedings. Outside of the laboring man, there is a widespread feeling that this system often works great injustice to wage-workers when their efforts to better their working conditions are resisted by the courts.

A temporary injunction procured ex parte may, as a matter of fact, have all the effect of a permanent injunction, and the laboring man, who is on the workers' side in such a dispute, organized labor is chafing under the unjust restraint which comes from the resort to this plan. It is a procedure, its disconcert has been unexpressed, and often improperly expressed, but there is a sound basis for the feeling that the law-abiding people of a community would be in a far stronger position for upholding the courts if the undoubtedly existing abuses could be provided against.

Such proposals as those mentioned above as advocated by the extreme labor leaders contain the very error of being class legislation of the most offensive kind, and even if enacted into law, I believe that the law would rightly be held unconstitutional. Moreover, the people are themselves now beginning to invoke the use of the power of injunction.

For many of the shortcomings of justice in our country our people as a whole are themselves to blame, and the judges and juries merely bear their share together with the public as a whole. It is discreditable to us as a people that there should be difficulty in convicting murderers, or in bringing to justice men who are guilty of corruption, or who have profited by the corruption of public servants.

The chief breakdown is in dealing with the crime which arises from the materialism, the interdependence of our time. Every new social relation begets a new type of wrongdoing, and many years always elapse before society is able to turn this sin into crime which can be effectively punished. The older men now alive the social relations have changed far more rapidly than in the preceding two centuries. The growth of new corporations, of business done by associations, and the extreme strain and pressure of modern life, have produced a confusion as to who its really dangerous foes are; and among the public servants who have not only shared the public wealth, but whose acts have increased it, are certain judges. Marked inefficiency has been shown in dealing with corporations and public men, and the attitude to be taken by the public, not only towards corporations, but towards labor, and towards the social system and the enormous growth of our great cities.

The huge wealth that has been accumulated by a few individuals, and the vastness of the wealth has amounted to a social and industrial revolution, has been as regards some of these individuals made possible by the use of the modern corporation. A certain type of modern corporation, with its officers and agents, its many

**Rheumatism Caused by Dyspepsia**

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A large school of physicians, which is increasing, claims that the eating of too much animal foods creates an overabundance of proteids, and that this is the cause of rheumatism, when such proteids are imperfectly digested and give rise to the acids, which the oxygen from the lungs cannot neutralize, and hence results in the disease of rheumatism and scores of other diseases.

These proteids do not permit the assimilation processes to take place properly and poisoning results all through the blood.

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issues of securities and its constant consolidation with allied undertakings, finally becomes an instrument so complex as to carry on business of various elements, lend themselves to fraud and oppression than any device yet evolved in the history of business. The people have worked slowly in providing for adequate control over them. The chief offenders in any given case may be an executive, a Legislature or a judge. Every executive head who advises violent, instead of gradual, action, who advocates the use of force and sweeping measures of reform (especially if they are tainted with vindictiveness and disregard for the rights of the innocent) is equally blameworthy. The several Legislatures are responsible for the fact that our laws are often prepared in many hasty and lack of consideration. More over, they are often prepared and still more frequently amended during passage at the instigation of the parties against whom they are afterwards enforced.

Real damage has been done by the manifold and conflicting interpretations of the interstate commerce law. Control over the great corporations doing interstate business can be effectively exercised only by the placing of a branch of the Federal executive, carrying out the Federal law, in an administrative department, a branch of the Federal executive, carrying out the Federal law, it can never be effective if a divided responsibility is left in both the States and the nation; it can never be effective if left in the hands of the courts to be decided by law-suits.

**Forests.** If there is any one duty which more than any other worthy of our early children and our children's children to perform at once, it is to save the forests of this country, for they constitute the first and most important element in the conservation of the natural resources of the country.

Short-sighted persons, or persons blinded to the future, who desire to make money in every way out of the present, sometimes speak as if no great damage would be done by the reckless destruction of our forests. It is difficult to have patience with the arguments of these persons. Thanks to our own recklessness in the use of our splendid forests, we have already crossed the verge of a timber famine in this country, and no measures that we have taken, at least for many years, undo the mischief that has already been done. But we can prevent further mischief being done; and it would be wise to take, at least for many years, to let any consideration of temporary convenience or temporary cost interfere with such action, especially as regards the forests, which the nation can now, at this very moment, control.

**Inland Waterways.** Action should be taken forthwith during the present session of the Congress for the improvement of our inland waterways, which are not only navigable but navigated rivers. We have spent hundreds of millions of dollars upon these waterways, and the traffic is steadily declining. This condition is the direct result of the absence of any comprehensive plan for the improvement of our inland navigation unless we get it.

Inquiry into the condition of the Mississippi and its principal tributaries reveals a state of affairs which would utterly waste caused by the methods which have hitherto obtained for the so-called "improvement" of navigation.

I urge that all our national parks adjacent to national forests be placed completely under the control of the forest service of the Agricultural Department, instead of leaving them as they now are, under the Interior Department, and policed by the army.

**Postal Savings Banks.** I again renew my recommendation for postal savings banks, for depositing savings with the security of the government behind them. The object is to encourage thrift and economy in the wage-earner and person of moderate means.

**Parcel Post.** In my last annual message I recommended the Postmaster-General's recommendation of an extension of the parcel post on the rural routes. The establishment of a local parcel post on rural routes would be to the mutual benefit of the farmer and the country storekeeper, and it is desirable that the routes, serving more than 15,000,000 people, should be utilized to the fullest practicable extent.

**Education.** The share that the national government should take in the broad work of education has not received the attention and the care it rightly deserves. The immediate responsibility for the support and improvement of our educational systems and institutions rests and should always rest with the people of the several States acting through their State and local governments, but it is an opportunity for national work which must not be lost and a duty which should no longer be neglected.

**Census.** I strongly urge that the request of the Director of the Census in connection with the census work so soon to be begun be complied with, and that the appointments to the census force be placed under the civil service law. The present system of appointments, as requested by the Director of the Census, the supervisors and enumerators should not be appointed under the present system for the reasons given by the director.

**Redistribution of Bureaus.** It is highly advisable that there should be intelligent action on the part of the nation on the question of preserving the health of the country. The dangers to public health from food adulteration and from many other sources, such as the menace to the physical and moral development of children from child labor, should be met and overcome.

I recommend that legislation be enacted to give jurisdiction to the Department of Commerce and Labor the Government Printing Office.

**All Soldiers' Soldiers' Homes.** All Soldiers' Soldiers' Homes should be placed under the complete jurisdiction and control of the War Department.

I advocate the immediate admission of New Mexico and Arizona as States. This should be done at the present session of the Congress.

**Fisheries and Fur Seals.** The Federal statute regulating interstate traffic in game should be extended to include the fur seal. New Federal fish hatcheries should be established. The administration of the Alaskan fur seal service should be vested in the Bureau of Fisheries.

**Foreign Affairs.** This nation's foreign policy is based on the theory that peace must be done between nations precisely as between individuals, and in our actions for the last ten years we have in this matter behaved, and are behaving, towards other nations as in private life an honorable man would behave towards his fellow-men.

**Latin-American Republics.** The commercial and material progress of the twenty Latin-American Republics is worthy of the careful attention of the Congress.

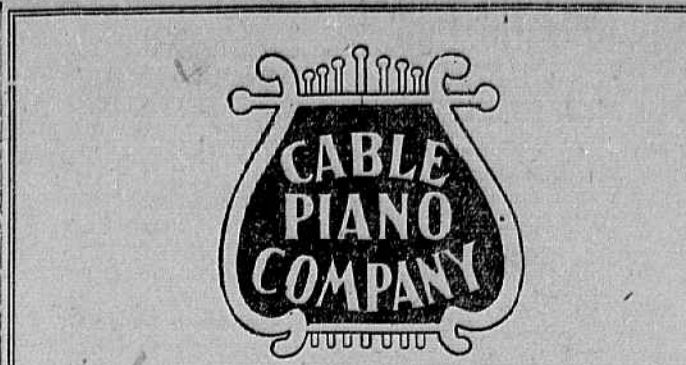
**Panama Canal.** The work on the Panama Canal is being done with a speed, efficiency and entire devotion to duty, which make it a model for all work of the kind.

**Ocean Mail Lines.** I again recommend the extension of the Hawaiian Islands, and the importance of those islands is apparent, and the need of improving their condition and developing their resources is urgent.

**Hawaii.** I call particular attention to the Territory of Hawaii. The importance of those islands is apparent, and the need of improving their condition and developing their resources is urgent.

**Porto Rico.** I again recommend that American citizenship be conferred upon the people of Porto Rico.

I take this opportunity publicly to state my appreciation of the way in which in Japan, in Australia, in New



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**The Army.** As regards the army, I call attention to the fact that while our junior officers and enlisted men stand very high, the present system of promotion by seniority results in bringing into the highest grades men who are not the best of the army, and who have but a short time to serve. No man should regard it as his vested right to rise to the highest rank in the army more than in any other profession.

The cavalry arm should be reorganized upon modern lines. This is an arm in which it is peculiarly necessary that the field officers should not be old. At present both infantry and artillery are too few in number to do the work which should be paid to development of the machine gun. A general service corps should be established, and above all, the average soldier has far too much labor of a non-military character to perform.

**National Guard.** The militia, the national guard, has been incorporated with the army as a part of the national forces. It behooves the government to take every reasonable thing in its power to perfect its efficiency. It should be assisted in its instruction and otherwise aided more liberally than heretofore.

There should be legislation to provide a complete plan for organizing the great body of volunteers behind the regular army and national guard when war has come. Congressional assistance should be given those who are endeavoring to promote the practice so that our men, in the services or out of them, may know how to use the rifle.

**The Navy.** I approve the recommendations of a general board for the increase of the navy, calling especial attention to the need of additional destroyers and cruisers, and above all, the need of a complete squadron of eight battleships of the best type. I commend the general board to be turned into a general staff. There is literally no excuse whatever for continuing the present organization of the navy. The navy should be treated as a purely military organization, and everything should be subordinated to the one object of securing military efficiency. Such military efficiency can only be guaranteed in time of war if there is the most thorough preparation in time of peace—a preparation, I may add, which will in all probability prevent any need of war.

The secretary must be a man of high caliber, and he should have as his official advisers a body of line officers, who should themselves have the power to pass upon and co-ordinate all the work and all the proposals of the several bureaus. A system of promotion by merit, and by selection or by exclusion, or by both processes, should be introduced. It is

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